2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

583 191 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591 595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.

764 765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

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[585]
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/136 cont./
wife and his Christian daughter, whose name is Candelaria Asúmbai, married according to the Catholic marriage ceremony.

Anduari then says that the first Chiriguano man, named Araparigua, without others knowing it, was saved from the universal flood, because, as a creature who had come directly from the hands of God and consequently was very beloved, he was taken up to the sky before the earth was flooded. /Illustration appears here./ /137/ When the Chiriguano had multiplied anew, he came down again to enjoy as before the pleasures of Bacchus and Venus, but very soon he made himself abhorred by all the people because of his haughtiness and his abuse of the property and women of others. Hence he was at the point of perishing, murdered by his own vassals, but Tunpa came to his aid, took him away again, and put him in his company. There Araparigua swore vengeance and asked Tunpa to destroy the whole race. God, knowing that his privileged creature no longer had any close relatives, such as a wife, mother, father, and children, acceded to his desires, and the Chiriguano were destroyed for a second time (1).

• [595]

1. The caciques follow the example of Araparigua, having several wives and abusing others, to the great sorrow of their parents and of the damsels themselves. It is completely false that the women of this race who fall to the cacique consider it an honor, as is stated by Dr. Leocadio Trigo. I do not know if this happens with those of other races, but he writes in general of all of the races of the Chaco.

But the Tunpa did not wish to be without privileged creatures for a long time, and he came down to earth again. He made a human body from clay with all the members corresponding to the masculine sex. Then he made another with all the members of the female body. He gave life to both, they lived, and he left them in their nakedness, leaving them in possession of a beautiful place.

[text continues on p. 188]

/164 cont./

622 643 648 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarüire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

997 /208 cont./ Let the reader consider that the work of the missionary, who strives for and dedicates himself to the reduction of the Indian, would not amount to much if he could make light of immorality, a sin which God anciently punished with two floods, one of water and one of fire, thus manifesting His just indignation with these words: Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.

595 With these inclinations not at all restrained, but instead fomented with the five physical senses and all the faculties of the soul, it is not strange that there should exist among the Chiriguano a tendency to very frequent bigamy and polygamy as a luxury or a sign of greatness. /204/ If not all have many wives, it is either because it is not easy to support them or because they are not easily found, because every woman would like to be the only mistress in her house (1).

> 1. In the house of a polygamist or bigamist, the one who gives orders and is in charge as mistress and manager is the oldest, as long as she anticipates her husband's thinking; since, as she knows his irremediable incontinence, in order not to lose her authority in the house, she advises a second and third marriage, etc., and then the master of all of these women imposes the respect due the oldest woman.

[643] Almost all regional caciques are polygamists, and they have a woman in almost every town of their dependency, without counting the eight or twelve that they have in the town where they live. Caciques can do this because they have 595 authority, although they do not give them anything. Formerly 178 polygamy was much more extensive. It is not so now because [997] the race has been much reduced, and there has penetrated everywhere, if not the missionary, the Christian, who at times is a reproach for the lasciviousness of the carnal Ava.

/204 cont./

643 648 797 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 574 829 643 The important men assert that to possess many wives is necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 622 [582] The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] [167] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/205 cont./

587 595 When the mother of a family is widowed at a mature age, after a year of widowhood, if she was a dutiful wife, she can easily remarry; it is much easier if she has a daughter, even if she is small. The Chiriguano man marries the mother with the hope of being able to marry the stepdaughter when she reaches a suitable age. If at the time of marrying a widow the stepdaughter is already an adult, it is difficult to achieve this end, because young girls abhor this type of union, in spite of the fact that their mother, in order not to be repudiated, often serves as a go-between for the wicked desires of her husband (2).

[593] [762]

2. The stepdaughter, when she sees the impossibility of freeing herself from the evil intentions of her stepfather, will often run away to another tribe, and, if she cannot manage this, will take her life by suicide.

582 In spite of being so inclined to lechery without regard for kinship, even in a direct line, it is worth considering the respect that the Chiriguano professes for consanguinity, regardless of the degree considered. It is unlikely that a man will marry a cousin in the fourth degree, and he tries to respect [593] even more distant degrees. With much more reason the father respects his daughters as holy things, it being completely false what somebody wrote about this, having heard of the case where one Chiriguano or several had lived with their daughters when the mother had died. It could happen that in the future they might marry their cousins, since they see that their superiors do this, but how many of those who are here will be alive a few years from now?

/300 cont./

797 In sum, the adult Indian infidel, when carefully watched
177 over, is quite submissive in complying with the orders of the missionary father, and even when drunk he is gentle and humble. Although it is quite true that he wishes to know nothing of religion as long as he lives, in order not to learn to pray and to comply with what religion demands, nevertheless today almost all ask for or receive baptism at the time of death. The difficulties which formerly occurred with respect to the sick who were in danger of death, which would be interminable in the telling, have now almost completely disappeared. (1)

1. It is more difficult to baptize old women, for it is they who advise a sick person to refuse to accept baptism, while others coax him to accept for material gain. In such cases it is very necessary to know their language.

•[595] If an Indian or a cacique had two or more wives when a mission was founded, bit by bit the missionary can make him give them up until he has but one. This requires some effort, but through persuasion and threats the desired end can be obtained, because this is one of the conditions which the minister of God sets when he is asked by the Indians to establish a mission. This is what I did in San Antonio del Parapiti, and they accepted all the conditions very willingly.

761 The adult Chiriguano is not baptized while he enjoys good
797 health; he only does it at the time of dying and when he is al-
177 most sure that he cannot live any longer. In the past it was even difficult to baptize infants, because they were convinced that baptism is the cause of death, for in their ignorance they did not understand that those who receive baptism in a serious illness died because of the gravity of the disease.

The missionary, because of his long experience, easily recognizes who is in danger of dying, and it is unlikely that he will err, because the serious illnesses of the Chiriguano are known diseases, such as dropsy, smallpox, dysentery, and consumption, to name the principal ones. He thus baptizes precisely those who cannot live, because it would be very

Ee 581 /212 cont./

Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy, I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Ce 582 Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

Ce [171] This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Choroti or the Mataco.

Ee 595 Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

Ee 582 Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

C 577 177 797 831 /214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Choroti. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

C [837]

C 577 831 175 The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

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Ce
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/88 cont./
rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

Ce
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344. Nord. 1, p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

Ce
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345. Nord. 1, pp. 211 and 212.

C
Ce
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622
While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Itiyuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited,

C
Ce
582

346. Nord. 1, pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1, p. 212.

Ce
843
Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Itiyuru a pregnant woman cannot eat

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[461]
doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

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348. Nord. 1, p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup,